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Sarakatsani EH14

[For additional information on the Tséligato, an economic cooperative the nucleus of which consists of an extended family, see Category 474.]

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/Information on the "company/stani" as a cooperative work group of related families will be found in categories 612/474./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling 593
solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and 581
moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical [596]
aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small 612
extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a 611
feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal 602
principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is 181
considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is 562
at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are
hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt
expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior [783]
not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the
stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant
threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must
be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a [602]*
unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these
attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation
of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for
paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these 591
preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his 596●
father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder
brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate
unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide
to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their
equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition
precisely when the claims of his children for special attention
begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of
the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained 596
on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere 57
in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference [171]
for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential
pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple
set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family
of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we
might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred.
Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important
reasons why separation does not take place immediately after
marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family [594]
of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual
devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and
critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality
of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards
of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling
adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

596 Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an
571 already established relationship, it only creates the necessary
legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a perti-
[581] nent fact in a community where, although a man may some-
times have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most
unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage
of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real
596 sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third
reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan tech-
571 nique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the
233 co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An
undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally
sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition
brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but
sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different
ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers
is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

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[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[113] [18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Mediterranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[113] [171] [19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to 585 her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters 602 and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the 585 bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial 591 introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the [312] standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts [415] of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate [461] task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is [462] rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger [482] as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of [822] the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

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[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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585 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of
596 despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every
Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be
[606] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride
undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her
husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her
[606] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride
takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.
585 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is
596 addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show
576 of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη,
[601] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specific- 585 596
ally requested to do so. [576]

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expres-
sions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is
important for her is that her formal membership in the extended
family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible
become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other
members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an
individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person
separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry [583]
wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family
takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children;
it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers.
The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednes- 585
day, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, 596
if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[8] The bride 283
may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive 789
one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her
husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which
will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is
a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family
which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only
death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contra- 585
diction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the 591
one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, 152
only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes
which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband 585
gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He 593
may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of 596
her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make
conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her hus-
band before other members of the family. If she requires any-
thing she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is
not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of
the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she
may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he
show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

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[8] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obliga-
593 tions and affections are still entirely contained within his own
●596 family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old
[833] pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and fre-
[513] quency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for
833 the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which
596 is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom
577 does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of
[342] his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

But with the return of the young shepherd bridegroom to his 585 sheep this co-operative interest in his sexual relations ends. He 833 may continue to sleep with his bride in privacy for one or two 596 months but if he prolongs this period unduly it represents a clear breach in the solidarity of the family. Sexual intercourse becomes now progressively associated not with the proof of manliness, but with conjugal intimacy and solidarity. And in his attempt to maintain his relations with his family of origin unaltered and intact he uses great care to avoid any demonstration of this kind of interest in his bride. Sarakatsan sleeping arrangements are simple. Velenzas, thick woollen carpet-like [513] blankets, are spread on the ground. The Sarakatsanos removes his shoes and his jacket, and another velenza is placed over him. It is the duty of the young bride to place the heavy enveloping [354] velenzas over each member of the family in turn and then to put out the oil lamp before making her way to her husband's side. It is not generally very long before a concert of snores indicates that the family is asleep and it is then possible for the bride and groom under their heavy covering to exchange silent embraces. Silence, of course, is necessary to avoid discovery but in any case the Sarakatsani believe that speech during intercourse is shameful. At first light the bride is first on her feet to blow the embers on the hearth into a blaze and prepare the coffee. With these conventional arrangements it is possible for the physical solidarity of the family to remain relatively unimpaired, and for the bride and groom to enjoy marital intimacy without directly affronting the sensibilities of the husband's family of origin.

However, there is a further complication. Before his marriage the young shepherd returned from the sheep to spend a night at the family hut perhaps once in every three weeks; then he changed his clothes, had the luxury of a night under cover, and heard the family news and gossip. After his marriage he comes openly to the huts more frequently; but he cannot return more than once in every twelve or thirteen days without feeling some embarrassment that he is showing too much interest in a person who is still an interloper in the family circle, and a sense of shame that his sexual desires and intentions must be very evident. He therefore supplements his fortnightly visits with other clandestine meetings. The bride sleeps near the door,

585 a cold and draughty part of the hut not favoured by more
833 senior members of the family. The groom arrives at the huts
596 some time after midnight when the family is asleep, slips into the hut, remains with his young wife for an hour or so and then, well before dawn, is already on his way back to the sheep which may be two or three hours' walking distance away.
522 Naturally the family are aware that these visits occur. Stories are told about grooms who tripped over milk cans as they entered the pitch dark hut or failed to convince the dogs of their true identity. They are considered to be hysterically funny; perhaps an indication of the ambivalent feelings which this conflict of loyalties provokes.

585 If the newly married shepherd is the eldest son the developing
596 pattern of relations has certain rather specific nuances. The family take an excessive pride in the first bride. They also take some trouble to make her feel at home, although at the same time their sensitivity to the attitude of the groom towards her is greater than in the case of the marriages of younger brothers. This after all is the first intrusion of an outsider into the hitherto exclusive family circle. More importantly the relationship between a father and his eldest son frequently shows signs of strain during this period. A father cannot in accordance with customary right long delay his retirement beyond the time when his eldest son has his first child, for it is an important value of this community that a man who is married and a parent should be the 'master' (νοικοκύρης) in his own household. But after the son's marriage and before the birth of the first child the father insists that he should continue to control the affairs of the extended family while the son is learning under his guidance the elements of his future role. Until the pregnancy of his wife is well established, the irritating uncertainty about the transfer of power, which will confer on him the status and prestige of a family leader in the community, sometimes tempts the son to show a lack of respect* to his father which previously he would not have dared to express so freely.

596 The retirement of the father resolves tensions between proxi-
577 mate generations in the extended family which are considerably aggravated by the influence of the prestige values of the wider

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* Such lack of respect, however, is seldom shown in public.

community. A man who, although married and a parent, remained for a number of years under the day-to-day direction of an elderly father, however vigorous, would lose prestige and find himself the butt of comic satire. The fact that the younger married brothers work for a time under the direction of an elder brother in a common household is a different matter. The relations of brothers after marriage are based on free association. Policy decisions are a matter of consensus rather than direction. The suspicion against the man who does not relieve his father of his burden of responsibility (whether he wants to be relieved of it or not) is that he is nervous, diffident, lacking in self-assertion, and unable to be a 'capable protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης) of his family. 596 577 [558]

In summary, then, the first phase of the development of the elementary family is a latency period in which conjugal solidarity, although gradually developing, is subordinate to the sibling solidarity between the husband and his brothers and sisters. In general it may be said to last until the birth of the first child. Also, although there is no formal change in the relation of father and eldest son during this period, competitive friction between them tends to increase. 596 571

2. BROTHERS AND THEIR WIVES

After one or two years most brides have become mothers. 851 This, naturally, brings about a great change in the bride's 596 position in the extended family. Previously, although full membership of the group was extended to her, yet in an affective sense she remained a stranger even in the eyes of her own husband. After the birth of her first child it is said that the new bride 'takes root in the new family'. Not only does she take [594] root, as it were, in the extended family but more significantly the new elementary family, consisting of herself, her husband, and the infant child, takes a definitive form. The arrival of the child is received with joy by the whole extended family whose attitude towards the bride shifts from tolerance to acceptance and affection for her as the mother of their tiny kinsman.

It is from the moment when the members of the extended family first feel this new affection for the bride that their control over her begins to diminish. So long as the extended family remains undivided and a younger brother of her husband does

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851 not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work
596 very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

[601] After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, ἀφέντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she
[551] uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is
[606] also significant that no member of the extended family, except the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or 851 the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in 596 a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this [602] problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not marriage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live 596 together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. 578 This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that the differences between wives often provide the occasions for separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often [539] quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν). 'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing distance between brothers is due to the obligations and affections which they owe to their children and which replace their former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from 596 the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral 612 extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only [594] corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with

their cousins.

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596 their cousins. In many unilineal descent systems, on the other hand, the interests and rights of a woman's children are so intimately related to those of the children of their father's brothers that irrespective of personal feelings, her duty to her own children demands loyal co-operation with all members of the lineage. The weak extended family of the Sarakatsani does not provide a framework with continuity in time in which units segmented in one context may yet be united in another. When the joint flock of animals has been divided, co-operation between married brothers, and therefore contractual obligation, [593] generally continues, but categorical obligations deriving from common membership in the family of origin are no longer valid. An index of this instability of the extended family is the relatively early retirement of the father, which has already been discussed.

An important characteristic of the extended family is that it is based on consent rather than authority. The flock and everything connected with it is held as common property, and since brothers have equal interests in the flock, decisions which concern its welfare are based on a general consensus of opinion. The eldest brother, who normally acts as the executive head, implements the general decision of the group. He also acts as its treasurer and all money is controlled by him. When business affairs take him to Jannina he does the shopping for the whole group, returning with perhaps a pair of shoes for the wife of one of his brothers, a cotton frock for his daughter, and a new jacket for one of his nephews. If one of his brothers wants cigarettes or requires money to play cards in the coffee-shop he comes and states his needs without embarrassment. The younger brother knows from experience what is reasonable and he does not usually make impossible demands on the family's slender resources. If he injures his family, he injures himself. The solidarity of brothers in such matters, even after marriage and the birth of children, is remarkable. Yet gradually, and in most cases with the greatest reluctance, they come to realize that their several obligations to their new families of marriage preclude the possibility of their living together indefinitely in a single domestic household. Observation of the conduct of their wives may often assist them in arriving at this conclusion.

The attitudes of wives towards one another are far less

The attitudes of wives towards one another are far less
reasonable. Unless their requirements happen to be similar, 596
what is given to one wife is by definition not given to the other. 578
Inevitably each believes that the other is the better treated. An elder brother often makes a conscious effort to treat his younger brother's wife with particular consideration and tact, supplying from the family purse without debate the money required for all her children's needs; shoes, a new jacket, medicine and so on. This may merely infuriate the elder brother's wife who sees herself and her children sacrificed to her husband's wish to maintain intact the relationship with his brother. On the other hand, the younger brother's wife is seldom grateful. She may not believe that she is being favourably treated and, at best, she will still resent the fact that she must apply to her husband's brother for the requirements of her children.

Yet the break-up of the united group of brothers is not due 596
to the quarrels of the wives alone. As his children pass out of 454
infancy, a father's thoughts are increasingly concerned with the problem of how to provide for their future. For instance, it may be necessary to practise extreme economy for a number of years, or even to borrow money to buy additional sheep, in an attempt to build up a flock large enough to support his sons and provide for his daughters' dowries. Obviously such operations can only be carried through efficiently and equitably when each brother has command of his own share of the family's stock.

The affairs of the family group led by Theodoros Ferendinos 596
(see Chart, page 74) illustrate these problems. After thirteen years together in an extended family the five brothers are considering the need to divide their household and the flocks. It is a family of moderate wealth and prestige owning 365 sheep and goats. The five brothers are known to be resolute, brave,
and mutually devoted. Yet although I never observed an open [578]
quarrel between these brothers, friction is evident. Four of the brothers are married, two of them have children nearing school age while three of the eldest brother's children are already at school. They are all concerned as to how they will support these growing families. Theodoros the elder brother has four children, but the second and third brothers have only two each. While the group lives in one household it is clear that to some extent the younger brothers are carrying part of the burden of

[Text continues on p. 75]

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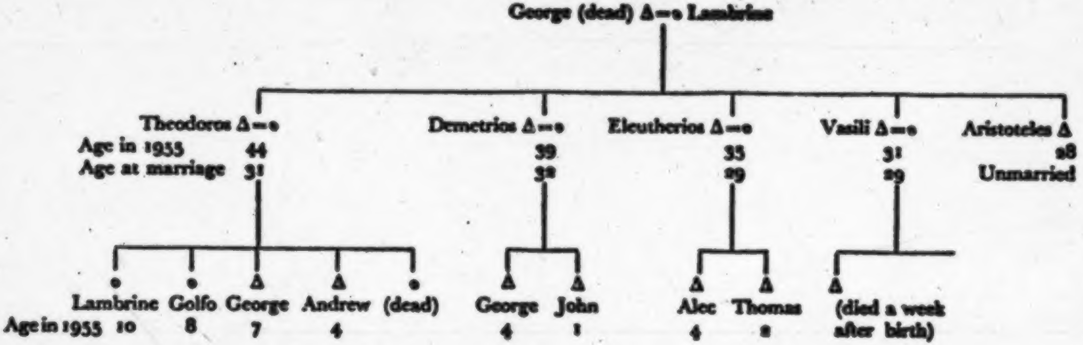
CHART

EXTENDED FAMILY LED BY THEODOROS FERENDINOS


George (dead) Δ=● Lambrine
Theodoros Δ=●
Age in 1955 44
Age at marriage 31
Demetrios Δ=● 39 32
Eleutherios Δ=● 35 29
Vasili Δ=● 31 29
Aristoteles Δ 28 Unmarried
Lambrine ● 10
Golfo ● 8
George Δ 7
Andrew Δ 4
(dead) ●
Age in 1955
George Δ 4
John Δ 1
Alec Δ 4
Thomas Δ 2
Δ (died a week after birth)

N.B. There are also two sisters not shown in this chart. They were, in 1955, respectively 42 and 40 years of age; the elder sister was married three years before, the younger one year after, the marriage of Theodoros.

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supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children 596
who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold
the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the
other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction,
it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who
have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or
even of the married brother without children, remains one of
common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping
of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a
parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil
this new role according to accepted expectations.

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase
of the extended family's development willingly delegate the
control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this
arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of
anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to
be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within 596
limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identi- 517
fication of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros [275]
himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks
in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the
second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful.
Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels
ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their
eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity
presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must
spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to
know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more
money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions
account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his 596
problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros [431]
bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest [405]
brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios
complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for [405]
several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he
wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had
watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody
and asked them if they wanted to know the time and,
before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to
show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

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Admittedly every man must have

596 some 'self-regard' (ἐγωισμός) but the family had to pay fifty
[577] shillings for this watch.

During the summer of 1954 Vasili worked for a Thessaly
438 merchant who had come to the Epirus looking for wool. Vasili
443 travelled around the Zagori countryside as his agent, buying up
434 wool wherever he found it. By entering a price in his account book somewhat in excess of the amount he actually paid out, but still below the maximum buying price laid down in the merchant's instructions to him, he was able to make a very pleasing profit in addition to his weekly wage. When he re-
596 turned to the family he gave almost all the profit to Theodoros
454 but secretly withheld six pounds for himself. Vasili had been married only two years at the time, but his wife was expecting a child in the next month. His conscience was clearly troubled at the deception he was practising and in his confession to me he explained that three years ago there would have been no point in keeping any of the money to himself, but now he was married, his wife was about to have a child, and he vaguely felt the need to have some reserve of money which was entirely under his own control.

596 The wives of the four married brothers live together in one domestic unit and work under the direction of their mother-in-law. There are many practical advantages in this situation of which they are not unaware. When one wife is cooking the communal meal, another is collecting firewood or carrying water while the old mother-in-law watches over the children. There are goats to be milked, wild herbs to be collected, clothes to be washed. There is the whole lengthy process of spinning and weaving. In all these multifarious domestic tasks the collaboration of the five women makes for companionship and a certain
596 economy of time and energy. But while the joint operations of
578 the brothers with the sheep are based on a relationship of common identification, the co-operation of their wives is of a contractual character. The partnership works smoothly so long as each wife is thought to be pulling her weight in relation to her seniority. This clearly may often be a matter rather of opinion than obvious fact. And while the brothers are usually careful not to express any displeasure they may feel for one another, wives are only too ready to criticize one another in public.

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of

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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of 596
her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost 578
a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully re- 159
covered. She has been to a number of different doctors who [765]
have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have
variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart,
and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed [757]
and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic
holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the [602]
worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless 596
in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal com- 578
plaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes 159
her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other 732
wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is
subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities [558]
of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

596 Vasilina the youngest wife has been married for about two
578 years. She gave birth to a son, but the child was weak and died.
159 Since she has scarcely advanced from the status of being a new
[165] bride, she does not assert herself. She is a willing worker but slow and without much intelligence. For these reasons the other women have little patience with her and criticize her freely.

596 The wives openly admit that they live in anticipation of the
578 day when their husbands will separate the single household and each wife will become 'mistress' (νοικοκυρά) in her own home. Their imputation of various short-comings to the other wives is merely a way of demonstrating their fundamentally opposed interests in respect to their different families. Each wife/mother is in herself a symbol of the kinship distance which separates her children from their paternal cousins, and therefore her husband from his siblings. The worst quarrels between wives are about their children. And such quarrels are particularly dangerous to the unity of the brothers. Two married brothers frequently stand together and verbally or even physically chastise their wives who make trouble in the family by quarrels over personal differences; but when the issue between the wives concerns their children (however trivial its origin may be), the two sibling/fathers, out of loyalty to and identification with their children, are inevitably committed to the support of their wives.

Therefore a circumstantial factor of some importance in deciding the moment when brothers must separate is the increasing difficulty of maintaining discipline in a joint household without causing offence to the constituent elementary families. When Theodoros on occasions shook a worried head and said, 'We are eighteen individuals (νομάτοι) in this house', this was the cause of his anxiety. As head of the house he could directly discipline only his own wife and children. He would not verbally reprimand a brother's wife in her husband's presence, unless she was a newly married bride or without children; in his absence he would certainly scold her if she did not comply with some instruction which concerned the general running of the joint household; but he could not interfere in her relations with her children. No brother would ever strike another brother's wife.
[606] Even the control of the mother-in-law over her sons' wives, though it is still considerable, becomes less complete after three or four years of marriage. In this household there are eight young

children and babies playing, fighting, and screaming. Except in 596
the early evening when a sleep of exhaustion stills their activi- 578
ties, the scene is one of constant tumult. In this situation a brother cannot strike the children of another. *A fortiori* one wife cannot in any way interfere with the children of another wife. When a father separates two embattled cousins he pushes the [861]
child which is not his own out of the way telling it to go to its mother, and then turns to deal his own child a slap across the face. Clearly these symptoms of disorder and indiscipline in the extended family result from the growing isolation of each of the constituent elementary families. The autonomy of each elementary family in regard to all its internal relationships and the control of its children is not compatible with the co-existence of the families in a single domestic unit.

When an extended family of several brothers and their wives 596
has lived as a single household for a number of years it is not 626
unusual to hear in the gossip of other families some criticism of this arrangement. In fact, few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers. No doubt the criticism of the extended family which does remain united beyond this limit may be attributed, in some measure, to the jealousy of other groups in which brothers have not been able to show quite the same mutual devotion. Yet, if they have succeeded in living up to one kinship value, their detractors are right to point out that they have failed to maintain other and more important values. Thus one critic of the Ferendinos family said that it was not right that the second and third brothers in the family, who each had two children, were not yet complete masters in their own households. They were assisting their elder brother with his larger family to a degree which was scarcely honourable when they had their own children to care for. Moreover, it was added, everybody knew that the [578]
wives were at each others' throats. It was dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue because it would inevitably end in quarrels between the brothers themselves.

3. SEPARATION

There is no precise formalized rule as to when brothers ought 591
to separate. Some informants say that when an elder brother 596
has a family of his own, and his younger brother is also married 591

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591 and has had two children born to him, the elder brother ought
596 to leave the extended family. Others state that an elder brother
571 with a family should not share a common household with a younger brother after the latter's eldest child approaches school aged (5–6 years of age). It is also said that it is necessary for brothers to remain united in one household until all the sisters are married. All agree that in any individual family the course of events depends upon the particular circumstances.

An examination of field data reveals that broadly speaking [422] there are two modes of separation. Either a group of brothers waits until all the brothers are married before any separation occurs, or, from time to time, individual brothers leave the extended family to set up their own households and withdraw their share of the stock from the common flock before the whole group has completed its marriages.

TABLE I

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

Number of brothers in a sibling group	2	3	4	5	6	
Groups united until all are married	8	4	1	1	0	14
Groups divided before all are married	0	3	4	1	1	9
	8	7	5	2	1	23

In this simple table, data is presented on twenty-three groups of brothers which in recent years completed their marriages. Of these twenty-three groups, nine did not wait until all the brothers were married before some division occurred. On the other hand, of the fourteen groups which have waited until all the brothers were married before dividing their sheep and households, eight had only two brothers and a further four, three brothers. Thus it would appear that there is a correlation between the size of the group of brothers and the method of separation. In groups of four or more brothers, it is generally not possible to wait until all the brothers are married before some division occurs.

Where the division of the household is effected in a single operation after all the brothers have been married, and where it occurs 'with good heart' (μὲ καλὴ καρδιά), the whole group

co-operates in the erection of new dwellings, each brother setting 591
up a separate household in a new hut. The common treasury 596
is used to furnish the new homes with the necessary simple 571
domestic equipment. Articles of dowry such as blankets, mirrors, 422
trays, drinking glasses, which may have been in communal use
in the extended family, accompany each wife to her new hut.
The youngest son with his parents, if they are alive, and his
bride remain in the hut of the former joint household.

When these arrangements have been completed, the animals 591
are massed and penned. The animals of each category, rams, 596
ewe lambs, 2-year-old ewes, 3-year-old ewes, and so on are 422
driven in turn through a narrow opening. As each animal 425
passes through the opening, it is nominated to a particular
brother, each brother taking animals in a fixed rotation. Or
sometimes the animals of each category are divided by the
drawing of lots. In either case, as the animals are assigned to
each brother, he effects some variation on the existing ear-sign.
The youngest brother, who receives an additional half-share of
stock for each of his surviving parents, also retains the original
ear-sign.

This operation is a severe test of brotherly love. A brother who finds that he has an undue number of indifferent animals in his share is unlikely to believe that the division of stock has been just. Therefore, in some cases, a disinterested relative, generally an uncle, is persuaded to hold the ring and preside over a fair distribution. The separate flocks which result from this division are unlikely to be equal in numbers. For, apart from the extra animals which the youngest son receives for the maintenance of the old parents, any animals and their natural increase which came into the flock as dowry of the brothers' wives are never under any circumstances included in the equal distribution, but remain the property of the brothers concerned.

For the other method of separation, in which individual 591
brothers leave the main body of the extended family to set up 596
their own households, the procedure is similar; but in this case 571
only one share is separated out from the joint property. If this
process is continued to its logical conclusion, the operation is
finally completed when the youngest brother finds himself alone
with his bride and surviving parents in the original extended
family hut. In fact, what occurs more frequently in separations

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is
married and established before a further and final division is
made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here
mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as
members of the family, contribute their share towards her
dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage
of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable
accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved
intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical
order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires
through marriage in the new elementary family which is then
formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family
should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife.
In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the
family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a
father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking,
men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years
of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when
they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication
of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish
to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
[583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry;
and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family
does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely.
Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry
before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would
destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at
least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest
brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays
the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her
parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
[584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal
of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

general arrangement of the marriages of a sibling group or if it 582
is an attractive offer for prestige reasons. But it has to be remembered 596
that although it may be hinted through the mediation of 584
kinsmen that a girl is ready to marry, it is always the man's family who must make the approach. If a girl is poor, ugly, unhealthy, or from a family of low social standing, she may wait many years without receiving an offer; and, in the end, she may be forced to accept the proposal of a widower or a man with some physical or mental incapacity.

TABLE II

THE AGE OF MARRIAGE (1945–55)

Age at Marriage		*Brides*	*Grooms*
Over	32	2	13
	32	2	12
	31	6	27
	30	7	21
	29	10	17
	28	17	13
	27	14	9
	26	22	4
	25	25	5
	24	16	2
	23	6	0
	22	5	0
		132	123

But, providing that all the brothers are not born first and all 582
the sisters last, or that there are two sisters very much younger 596
than the rest of the sibling group, it is often possible to marry off all but one of the sisters before the eldest brother has had to wait beyond the age when he might normally expect to marry. Although the late age of marriage of brothers is not unconnected with the duty of first discharging obligations towards the sisters before a man acquires a family of his own, it is not a simple correlation. It is also related to the balance of power between father and son. If a man marries at the age of 30 and his first son is born a year later, this son will in turn reach the age of 30 when his father is in his early sixties, an age at which he becomes physically incapable of the strenuous life that the executive head of a shepherd family necessarily leads. And even if his

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And even if his

582 physique remains unimpaired he cannot delay the marriage of
596 his first son beyond his thirty-first year without suffering con-
[626] siderable and growing criticism in the community. He must, then, bow to the inevitable, arrange the marriage of his son and in a short time (at the birth of the first grandchild) hand over control; for, as we have stressed, it is not compatible with the values of this community for a married man with a child to be still under parental control and not master in his own house. But fathers do not normally hand over control until they have to. An elder brother, who has no sisters to guard or provide for, may marry a year or two sooner, but the difference is not marked.

[626] Old age, then, and the fear of public criticism and ridicule generally force a man to arrange the eldest son's marriage before his thirty-second birthday. No consideration of the needs of sisters will normally delay this event. And the marriage of other brothers in the middle of the birth order of the sibling group are arranged with the same upper limit in mind. On the other hand, the youngest brother will almost certainly not marry until all the sisters have found husbands. Through the social equivalence of brothers, the duty of watching over and, if need be, avenging the honour of the sisters, is delegated to the unmarried member of the group of brothers. This arrangement recognizes the conflict between the roles of father/husband and brother when they are played simultaneously by the same person; a conflict which, according to Sarakatsan kinship values, can only be resolved in favour of the father/husband. It is an arrangement which, on occasion, may delay considerably the marriage of the youngest brother.

TABLE III

CHILDREN OF EUTHYMIOS CARVOUNIS

Group of Siblings		*Age at marriage*	*Age in 1955*
Demetrios	(M)	31	42
George	(M)	30	38
Michael	(M)	32	36
Elias	(M)	Unmarried	35
Amalia	(F)	24	32
Evangelike	(F)	28	28

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The children of Euthymios Carvounis (Table III) are one of 582
those unfortunate sibling groups where all the brothers were 591
born first and the sisters afterwards. The youngest sister has just been successfully married to a villager. But the youngest brother, Elias, is 35 and only now becomes free to find himself a wife.

Naturally, under these conventions, a sister may sometimes find herself without an unmarried brother to act as guardian of her honour. Apart from sibling groups with no brothers, this is likely to be the case where there is only one brother with sisters who are considerably younger and a father who is incapacitated. Pericles Gogolos, for instance, had to marry and succeed his father at the age of 27, when his two younger unmarried sisters, Erasmia and Machoula, were respectively only 23 and 19 years of age.

It appears, then, that the solidarity of the sibling group, as this is manifested in the obligations of brothers towards sisters, ideally demands that all sisters should be married before any of their brothers. In practice, we find that while the ideal is approached, though seldom achieved, when the ages and birth order of the siblings are not an obstacle, in less favourable circumstances it is only the youngest brother who may have to wait some time before marrying. But while the obligations to a sister do not in the main delay the marriages of brothers, the presence of unmarried sisters in the house does effectively prevent married brothers from dividing the extended family household. It is true that in most families, by the time the second brother has married and has children approaching school age, the sisters because of their earlier age of marriage will have left their family of origin. But where this is not so, it is held to be wrong for married brothers to break up the united family group before the sisters are married. In the first place, it is said that brothers who live in a united household are accustomed to reaching unanimous decisions. If each brother has become used to making various decisions for himself, it is less likely that they will agree about whom the sister should marry, and how much dowry in sheep and money should be conceded. [583] Moreover, the traditional element in the dowry, the heavy blankets and personal clothing, claims the better grades of wool from all the sheep of all the brothers for a number of years before the

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582 marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents
596 no difficulty; but if work had to be collected from a number of
583 autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction
[578] between the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice.
596 Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour
834 of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to
have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers
rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not
ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever
a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry
water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular
mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If
a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to
[312] sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells
used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are
often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an
unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips
are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more
than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she
is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably,
in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much
more real.

596 For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended
594 household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the
brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

000 In describing the process of development which occurs

In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the 596 extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a 593 number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes [851] clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are [612] consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits.

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing 596 are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the 577 community. We have seen how the belief that a married man 554 with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent

596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
594 manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The
427 lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is
558 damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
464 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
735 dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds.

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Theodoros

602 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their
578 hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour.
But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and
the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in
602 some way he must maintain these relations. For some months
578 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers,
593 who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife
ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties
[594] to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the
elementary family from both the families of origin of the two
parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how
● [596] the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly
weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any
594 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is
established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or
606 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if
the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

602 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his
431 relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of
some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once
despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which
he happened to possess a small store. The difference between
the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance
lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such
thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his
little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he
would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense
of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have
been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable
timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the
child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making
no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources.
But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some
return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element
of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude
as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater
punctilio.

606 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of
591 his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are
596 always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement
is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons.
After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal
manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-
[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contri-
bution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he
brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of
origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to
the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the
[429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since
eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-
law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good
standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly
[828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness
[428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's
parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit
his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's
patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an
ordinary dowry.

ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom 591 596 606
that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ).

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because 602
of the co-operative compact which has been established and 835
their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned [884]
correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care.

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations 582
between two previously unrelated families is unique and may 602
not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search

and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a 594
symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the
different members of the family to one another. The shepherd [461]
husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and
if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the
skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and [521]
talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he
will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire [354]
situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the
wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan
family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the
spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife [593]
for the simple but to him very important attentions which he
associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom
interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a
contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of
action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife 593
is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband
before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the
village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards
behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife 593
never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands 264
erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the [574]
squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband [596]
and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of
the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάϊ)
is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with
whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of
eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon
the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily
eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality
between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of
the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit
and eat together. For in this most private situation, the
relationship of mutual identification between the members of
the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in
the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and 593
private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

593 581 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and [581] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

596 854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous [855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 858 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or 593
insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence.
Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father,
the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο
μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical.
It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour.
To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public,
shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a
good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held
that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is [828]
pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral
constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty
son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or [688]
strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which
upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned
by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts
are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his
young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as [578]
distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the 596
transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It 593
will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be [582]
recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be [851]
expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday
before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he
expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

596 The sanction
593 for these arrangements[1] is public opinion. However reluctant a
126 man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he
558 will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 There are two other circumstances which may help to per-
593 suade a father to cede his position at the customary time.
233 Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and
461 goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country.
886 The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the
212 family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds
178 who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under
596 modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic administration.

[1] [i.e. the taking over of family authority by the son ---Analyst]

administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [451]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

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593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended [589] family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

* * *

593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion 593
between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelm- 844
ing pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is
necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some
Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or
firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone
that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother
assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone,
having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded
up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to
the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from 593
his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities
any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long [862]
suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the [789]
provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a
phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from
the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care [794]
for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that [755]
was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the 593
extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays 596
an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and
solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment
to one another with reference to the fact that they were born
from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and
peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambi- [606]
valence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives
work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's
mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the
eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where
the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such
cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and
mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary
families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an
extended family come once more to respect their mother's
authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the
extended household. The senior brother who is head of the
household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that
affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her

593 domestic affairs or not. Sitting for most of the day at the hearth
596 with her various grandchildren around her, the mother be-
[888] comes the physical and moral centre of the extended family,
while the father, if he is still alive, is now a genial nonentity.

* * *

593 Parenthood brings to a man or woman joy and pride, but
858 also anxiety. It is often said, 'Children bring worries' (ἔχουν
στενοχώριες τὰ παιδιά). The quality of this worry which besets Sarakatsan parents is nicely reflected in the literal meaning of στενοχώρια, a narrowness of space or insufficiency of room. It is both the desire to do more for children and the lack of means which prevents this, and the relative helplessness of a parent in the face of the various physical and spiritual dangers which surround a child.

593 Sons and daughters, for their part, recognize that 'bringing
888 up a child has many troubles and cares', and this is an important element in the belief that a father or mother, even in extreme senility, cannot be repudiated. The obligation to support aged parents is absolutely binding on children. But just as the regard of a father for his children was conditional upon their conduct, so in his old age the affection and respect he receives from his children is qualified by their judgement of him as a good or bad parent. On the other hand, a mother's love is always unconditional: and equally so are the attitudes of care and devotion to her in the last years of her life. She toils without thought of self. A mother 'sacrifices herself for her children', it is often said. In return she has an absolute right
[596] to be mistress of the extended family household of her married sons; and after the separation of the brothers she has a further right to the services of the wife of her youngest son.

593 Parents and children not only have categorical obligations
828 towards each other but they are morally identified. The
858 responsibility for the wrongdoing of a child is in part referred back to his parents. In general, evil children must have been born of evil parents and, vice versa, wicked parents beget wicked offspring. In illustration of this idea that children share the moral virtues and weaknesses of their parents, Sarakatsani explain that 'The apple will fall under the apple tree' (τὸ μῆλο

VIII

THE FAMILY AS A CORPORATE GROUP

1. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

THE Sarakatsan family is a corporate group. The property 596
of the family is owned in common. It holds exclusive [421]
rights over the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. And in principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is true that, in effect, it ceases to exist when the married brothers divide the joint household some 40 years after the marriage which originally brought the family into being. But during this period its members think of it as a permanent entity, and in so far as they consider the future separation of brothers' households they see it at this time as merely a modification of their corporate existence which will be extended in their continued association.

The solidarity of the corporate family is symbolized in the 596
idea of blood (αἷμα). In marriage a man and woman mix their 826
different blood to produce 'one blood' which is the blood of their children. One says of a child, 'he is my blood', (εἶναι αἷμα μου). Relationships in the family are a participation in this common blood. It provides the reason and the sanction within [577]
the individual's conscience for the fulfilment of those exigent and uncompromising duties of family membership. The 596
relevance of blood to intelligence and moral character, and their 826
inheritance, is an idea with a long history.[1] But for the Sarakat- 828
sani, the blood which children inherit not only represents, but it 'is' the physical and moral attributes that form their social personalities. If a man is not of honourable lineage his blood does not 'take fire' at an insult; and when he is faced with sudden danger 'his blood is cut' (κόπηκε τὸ αἷμα του). These are not metaphorical usages. The blood centred in the heart is both the medium and the agent of emotional thought and feeling. Thus blood is intimately related to courage. And it is a matter of common observation that as a man loses blood,

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[1] Onians, op. cit., pp. 48, 121.

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596 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are
826 particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend
828 the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the
[577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of
its blood.

596 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of
551 purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is
[156] reflected in the way that individual members are normally
described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of
his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a
woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except
[553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the
christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is
[885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way
there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her
family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her
husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly
children of both sexes are known by their own christian name
followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for
instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members
and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract
between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament
establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a
transaction which transcends individual interests and desires.
Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy,
virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their
union are to approach and participate in the qualities and
nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or
illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and
to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal
requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox
Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among
the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce;
but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In
one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not
to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing
[734] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive
of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with 586 the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after [734] the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. [732] She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be 684 killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where 848 the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* 848 individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in 596 relation to his family membership; and this implies membership 571 within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although 596 the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, 421 in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[1] suggests [171] that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the 596 sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν, 422

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[1] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, [113] vol. i, p. 265.

● 596 422 [583] [434] μιᾶς ζωῶν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on this common stock according to the needs of his status and situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters, which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother. It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in emergencies.

596 425 428 888 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the family property ought to occur before all the daughters have been married with dowries which represent their share of the commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share in the flock and any other property which the family may own. One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and this property passes with them into the family of the youngest son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half share is retained for his or her support. When the old people eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden. [884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age, which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will not claim this share until he is married and the father of children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth. Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be [684] [682] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 421 We can see from these facts that in principle the father and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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corporate family, stand as equals in relation to the common 596 flock and the common property. Strictly speaking, the son does 421 not inherit property from his father; rather the father and the son both have claims on the corporate property which they exercise when they leave the group or when the group is dissolved. Through their dowries, the daughters also have parallel claims, and should a daughter remain unmarried she too will receive something, a half share, with which, like her parents, she passes into the family of her youngest brother. The partition of the corporate property and the single household does not come about so much as the result of individuals claiming individual rights, as through the redeployment of the resources of one corporate family group to endow and accommodate the needs of a number of new corporate families which, in part, are sprung from it. That this process of growth cannot be contained within the framework of a single corporation with continuity through time, is a consequence of the bilateral kinship system.

The authority of the head of the family group is limited in a 596 number of ways. In the early years, before the maturity of his children, the authority of the father is unquestioned, but in the administration of family affairs his position, even then, is that of trustee rather than master and owner. A father who squanders the wealth of his family through gambling or inattention to his duties is despised. If the community discovers that he 558 punishes his wife and children too harshly, or without reason, he will lose prestige. In the later years of the family's development when the father holds his authority over adult sons and daughters, and *a fortiori* during the period when the elder brother presides over an extended family group, the head of the family increasingly exercises an authority which is based on a process of collective decision and unanimity. During these years, for instance, the family head does not buy or sell stock or other property without consulting his sons or brothers. Through discussion, in which everybody participates, a collective viewpoint about conduct and action emerges, and the family is prepared to continue a debate for many hours until unanimity is reached. As opinion begins to harden, the remaining dissenters give way out of loyalty, if not from conviction. So tightly drawn to one another in the mutual

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59b identification of their interests and affections are the members of the family that they cannot tolerate a permanent minority opinion. To dissent is a kind of treason. In a qualified sense, it may be said that authority over the affairs of the corporate family, in the later years of its existence, is corporately exercised. In practice, there are naturally many matters in which the head of the family through his experience in bargaining and negotiation has more expert judgement; and here the family will be guided by his recommendations. But, similarly, he in turn will take the advice of his sons or brothers when difficulties arise over the grazing and condition of the animals.

59b 62b No outside person or group has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of a family. The family has an unfettered jurisdiction over its own concerns. Public opinion exerts an immense moral pressure on a family, if the conduct of its members falls appreciably short of the ideals of family life; but it has no means of legitimately and forcibly restraining an unrepentant father or brother. 59b 861 62b One day, together with a Sarakatsan friend, I was passing the home of a man from whose courtyard we heard a confusion of shouts and cries. Looking carefully over the high wall, we saw the father lashing his thirteen-year-old daughter with a leather belt; it seemed that the girl's only fault was that she was too frail to lift and secure some heavy sacks on to a waiting mule. My friend's fury was evident. Sarakatsani cannot tolerate any form of cruelty to children. Yet he insisted that he could not interfere with the father's action even if he were on the point of killing her. But, lifting a heavy stone, he tossed it over the wall. The man, realizing that somebody had been watching him, at once ceased his blows on the child.

59b Within this autonomous family group there is a certain equivalence of rights and obligations between the members. It must be said, however, that this abstraction and separation of rights and obligations only emerges somewhat artificially in our analysis. Because of their very diffuseness it would not normally occur to an individual to balance his rights and privileges against those of another member of the family. There is no conscious accountancy in this solidarity. In general terms everybody has the right to expect material, moral and affective support from the family, as well as assistance in the event of physical assault. We have already stressed that a person will never admit

to an outsider that a member of his family is worthy of moral 596
blame in any dispute. We shall discuss again the right to moral
support, as well as the right to protection from physical assault,
when we consider the concept of family honour. As to the right
to material support, this has been dealt with in the discussion
of family property. It remains, therefore, to examine a
person's right to affective support.

It is only within the privacy and secrecy of the family hut 596
that a man or woman is able to relax, to laugh, to give affection 577
and receive it. The burden of public life is a heavy one. Outside 152
his house a man must be severe and proud. He must strut about
like some turkey-cock as if his affairs were matters of abnormal
consequence. He must on no account show his emotions unless
it be an unrestrained anger at some actual or imagined slight.
Publicly, he treats his wife and daughters with disdain, barking
at them orders in harsh staccato phrases. An unmarried girl or
a wife must walk slowly with measured tread and downcast
gaze. Only inside the hut is it possible to abandon these conventional
attitudes. After the evening meal, an act of communion 596
to which only a visiting kinsman will be admitted, the whole 577
family, men, women and children, sit or lie around the hearth 152
in no fixed order, laughing, gossiping and asking riddles. The (264)
centrally-positioned hearth, around which the family gathers,
seems to symbolize a common fellowship rather than a hierarchy
of relations. Despite a measure of conventional restraint
in certain relationships, especially that between father and
daughter, the general tone of the family in assembly is one of the
utmost intimacy, solidarity and identification. Trust between
brothers is proclaimed in the action of a younger brother who
leans his head against the shoulder of his older brother's wife. It
is an atmosphere of easy camaraderie and undemonstrative
affection, which is impossible with unrelated persons in any
situation, and possible for the members of a family only when
they are shielded from the public gaze.

A person also has obligations to the family which gives this 596
protection and support. The most general of these obligations 577
is an attitude of loyalty and reciprocal support towards the
other members of the family who must be sustained morally and
physically in all situations without any consideration of the
consequences. A sequel to the affair of the man who beat his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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● 596 577 (843) daughter which we have just described illustrates the strength of this loyalty. This girl was a regular visitor to our hut. On the first visit after her ordeal, some expression of sympathy was made. The girl's composure was visibly upset, tears came to her eyes and her lips trembled, but she would not discuss the incident and even refused to comprehend what we were talking about. Whatever maltreatment the individual may receive in the family, he remains loyal in the face of outsiders. And indeed there is no alternative, for the individual cannot abandon or change his family, or live outside its limits.

596 157 Secrecy about the family and its affairs is a measure of loyalty and of the internal cohesion of the group. The Sarakatsani are, in fact, extremely secretive. As a matter of policy and habit they never give accurate answers to questions about numbers of sheep possessed or quantities of milk sold. The answers to taxing authorities are diminished, and to other persons, when the purpose is to impress, responses to the same questions are inflated beyond credible limits. The marriage aspirations and negotiations of sons and daughters are guarded secrets. Information about private family life is denied to all unrelated persons; and with reason, because people are always seeking to find or fabricate incidents of intimate family life to destroy the reputations of others. But secrecy goes beyond the point of mere discretion and becomes an end in itself. A Sarakatsanos declines to give almost any personal information to a non-kinsman, even where it could not remotely damage the family's interests or prestige. One housewife will not disclose to another what she is cooking for the evening meal. Two shepherds leading mules meet on a path and pause for ten minutes to deny each other the simple pleasure of knowing where each has come from, what he is carrying, and where he is going. The questions are as pertinent as the answers are evasive. Children are drilled into these attitudes from their early years. Asked by another adult Sarakatsanos or villager who his father is, a child replies with an air of false innocence, 'And you do not know me?' Secrecy erects a barrier around the members of the family and their intimate relations. The family secrets, whether they have significant content or not, are relevant, simply because they represent something which is denied to other people who are not members of the group.

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But the obligation that Sarakatsani must not on any account 596
fail to fulfil is the defence of family honour. Honour (τιμή) is 577
directly concerned in a limited range of situations; typically these emerge after physical assault or verbal insult, or following a sexual assault on the women of a family, or their own misconduct. Whether or not honour is lost depends essentially upon two qualities in the moral characters of its members; the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of the men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of the women. Objectively, therefore, honour is an aspect of the integrity and social worth of the family as this is judged by the community; subjectively it represents the moral solidarity of the family, an ideal circle that must be defended against any violation by outsiders.

Honour is concerned with strength or prepotency rather than 596
justice. The most direct blow to the strength of another family 577
is simply to kill one of its men. His blood pours out and with it 627
go life, consciousness, and strength. Sarakatsani believe that in 826
some way a killer absorbs the strength from the blood of the man he slays. 'I shall drink your blood' (θὰ σοῦ πιῶ τὸ αἷμα), is a phrase that threatens murder. Given the connexion between strength and honour, it follows that the family of the killer validates its claim to honour, except in circumstances where the motive of the killing is itself dishonourable; such motives of dishonour include sexual lust but not theft. On the other hand, the family of the victim must remain inferior until one of its members 'takes out the blood' (βγάλῃ τὸ αἷμα) from the violator himself, or until he is at least driven into exile. One avenger bathed his hands in the blood of the original killer and returned to show his mother 'the blood of her son'. With certain qualifications that will concern us in a later chapter, all Sarakatsani are born with honour. But it is constantly threatened; and its conservation is, in effect, a struggle to maintain an ideal equality. When a life or the virtue of a woman has been taken away, something equivalent must be taken back if the family is not to fall for ever from grace and social reputation.

The family of the victim, then, have this duty of active solidarity[3] 'to take out the blood' of their kinsman from the

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[3] The useful distinction between active and passive solidarity is borrowed 113
from Glotz. See Gustave Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris, 1904, Chapter 6.

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596 577 627 person of his violator. On the other hand, the family of the original killer do not have to suffer the consequences of passive solidarity; a brother, father, or son of the killer is not generally an object of vengeance. But despite the absence of passive solidarity in vengeance killing, the ideal course of a vendetta is still visualized as terminating in the mutual extinction of the two families. As we shall see, this is most unlikely to occur in practice. It is generally to a brother or son, more especially the former, that the duty of vengeance killing for murder falls. A father is seldom involved, for women and children are inviolate, and only in the case of the killing of an only son without issue will he be left as the one possible avenger. Normally, an unmarried brother avenges a brother, a son his father, when the latter has no unmarried brother.

During the period 1945–55 it seems that only two successful killings have occurred amongst the Sarakatsani that were specifically vengeance for a previous murder, although for the same period I have details of varying completeness concerning seven other killings for various causes (other than the hostilities of the 1947–9 civil war). One reason for the low incidence of vengeance killing is that the killer is generally removed or removes himself from the scene of action immediately after the event. Today, the Greek police are well organized and omni-
[578] present. Generally, killings occur either as the result of boundary disputes or questions of honour, so that the identity of a
[682] killer is widely known. He is quickly arrested and finds asylum in prison. When he is released from prison some five to ten years later, his kinsmen will advise him whether the victim has a brother or son able to revenge him, and depending on the nature of this advice the killer will either return to the community or move to another district of the Epirus or to Thessaly. Therefore, in most cases, the absence of passive solidarity in blood vengeance and the removal of the killer to prison and later to voluntary exile prevents the execution of vengeance. Exile is clearly not so honourable an outcome as a vengeance killing for the victim's family, but it strikes some kind of rough balance between the two groups. It relieves the avenger of the need to spend a number of years in prison, followed possibly by exile. The killer himself is believed to suffer considerably in his exile, distant from the support of his family and kinsmen. And it is the

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reputation for manliness of the victim's group which has driven 596
him there. 577

But if all the dead man's brothers are married, he is unlikely 627
to be avenged. A married brother's obligations to his own family take precedence. If he were to kill the murderer he would be removed to prison, and afterwards would face exile or possible counter-vengeance. In either event his family would be deprived of its head at a time when the sons were almost certainly still children or adolescents. Yet the consciences of married men with an unavenged brother are never altogether easy. If the dead man has a son, however young, they feel less troubled. For this son will be expected to revenge his father before he marries. However, by the time the son is mature enough to act, the killer is probably an old man and removed from the public scene. In this situation a son tends to put off the execution of his duty in the hope that the murderer will soon die naturally without his assistance.

If the dead man has an unmarried brother, ideally the latter may not marry until the murderer has been killed or driven into exile. But if the dead man has also a son, even though it is still in the cradle, he will probably take a wife; particularly if the killer has a long sentence to serve. If the dead man has no son, an unmarried brother will certainly wait until the murderer emerges from prison, but if the latter does not then return to the community the brother will probably consider himself free to marry a year or two afterwards.

Yet despite the dearth of reciprocal vengeance killings, the idea of this obligation is very real, and it remains a potent sanction against light-hearted killings in a community with a taste for violence. Of five Sarakatsan murderers released from prison in recent years, three moved to other parts of Greece, and the two who returned to the community only did so because their victims had left no ready avenger on the scene.

The details of a vengeance killing which occurred in 1950 illustrate some aspects of the problem. During the civil war of [221]
1947–9 the Sarakatsani were unable to reach their summer grazing in the mountains and remained in the plains of Thesprotia under conditions of extreme heat and absence of grass. There was a boundary dispute between the extended [578]
family group of Achnoulas and a 'company' of families led by

John Stratos.

596 John Stratos. Accused of stealing the grass of the other group, a
577 young shepherd of the Achnoulas family insulted a brother of
627 John Stratos, who struck him with his crook. Both families heard the shouts and rushed to the aid of their kinsmen. In the scuffle that followed the old father of John Stratos was wounded by the knife of one of his own sons which had fallen to the ground and was then picked up by one of the Achnoulas brothers. He died from the wound. The fight was so confused, with six men grappling in a body, that the Stratos family never discovered which Achnoulas brother killed the old man. Nor did the police. After a lengthy inquiry, nobody was charged with the killing since much of the evidence appeared to suggest that it had been accidental. The Achnoulas family felt reasonably secure from direct attack because of the anonymity of the killer and nothing happened for nine months, until one day George Achnoulas, drunkenly quarrelling at a wedding, told an adversary to take care, hinting darkly that he was not afraid of spilling blood since it would not be the first time. The Stratos family, informed of this incident, necessarily accepted the evidence as sufficient, and an unmarried brother, Charalambos, waited in ambush for George and shot him dead as he walked along a path.

What we are faced with in these seeming evasions, or half evasions, of a duty which is declared to be sacred, is generally not any real weakness in the solidarity of the family of origin, but the conflict of roles between the duty of the brother or son on the one hand, and, on the other, the obligations of a father to his own family, or the right of a brother or son to marry and found his own elementary family at about the age of thirty. This conflict is, of course, related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the isolated corporate family which is associated with it. It places an inherent limit on vendetta. Clearly, a community fragmented into family commonwealths, where the individual's categorical rights and obligations are contained exclusively in this small group, where the help a man can claim from his collateral kin is severely limited, and where a family to exist in any real sense must have at least one adult male to support and lead it, is peculiarly ill contrived to prosecute blood vengeance.

It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the

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It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the 596
Sarakatsani have no notions about the blood or spirit of an
unavenged victim turning upon the kinsmen who have failed 577
in their duties. For this would be an uncomfortable belief to 627
accommodate where successful vengeance killing is contingent 826
on a number of circumstances. This is interesting because, as 761
we have already seen, blood is the material medium of kinship and its values. In other related contexts Sarakatsani clearly believe that blood has mysterious and intelligent powers. A horse standing outside a house when its master was murdered 'dropped dead from the blood' (ἔσκασε ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα). A shepherd who killed a woman 'was seized by the blood' (τὸν ἔπιασε τὸ αἷμα). He was paralysed before his victim until the husband returned to kill him. For this was an evil and unnatural deed where supernatural sanctions rightly operated. Sarakatsani will even say that the avenging brother's blood gives him the courage to reclaim 'his own blood' from the killer. But suggestions that a dead man might be personally angry and dangerous if he is not avenged are met with amused and pragmatic disbelief. If care is taken over a man's burial so that the Devil [775]
cannot use him as a 'βρυκόλακας' (phantom), a dead man is simply dead. Vengeance, then, is a duty owed to the honour of the family and not to the memory of a particular individual. And honour depends on the strength, confidence, and self-regard of living men, not on any mysterious or spiritual powers.

The problems which the duty of vengeance killing presents 596
to a family sometimes have an element of paradox. For in 577
prosecuting vengeance and defending its honour a family 627
almost inevitably deprives itself of one of its men. This may represent a dangerous weakening of its strength; and strength, it may be remembered, is the basis of honour. In the very act of defending one's honour one may in fact be jeopardizing it. The violator is always in mortal danger immediately after the deed, when grief and humiliation are fresh. But if he survives the first two years unscathed the victim's family begin to consider the situation in a more calculating and unemotional fashion. It then becomes a question rather of whether there are reasonable grounds, of the kind we have discussed, for 'not' prosecuting vengeance. This depends entirely on how the com- [626]
munity views their predicament. If all the brothers of the victim are married when the killer returns from prison, the consensus

596 of opinion is likely to be favourable to a policy of inaction but
577 mutual avoidance. There is, inevitably, some loss of prestige
627 but this may be the lesser of two evils. But mutual avoidance
626 (which is possible in this dispersed community) is essential. If
[558] the killer were to appear before the victim's brothers on a public
occasion, such as a wedding or a festival, the humiliating confrontation would force the brothers to kill him or forfeit their honour. Generally, both sides have strong motives to keep out of each other's way. In the case of the vengeance killing between the Achnoulas and Stratos families, after some months the Stratos family may have felt relief that they did not know the identity of the killer. But the incident at the wedding was generally interpreted as a display of public boasting by George Achnoulas, and this made retaliation almost inevitable.

596 The loss of a life in a killing is seen as a loss of blood, and for
577 this outrage the violator ought to pay with his own blood. We have
627 shown that there is no passive solidarity in vengeance killing;
a man does not generally suffer for a killing committed by his brother. This is a convention which plainly restricts the possible extensions of a vengeance killing and prevents a number of families from losing their 'protectors'. It is the analogue of those qualifications of active solidarity that we have already discussed. However, this does not detract from the importance of active and passive solidarity in other situations nor the significance of the shedding of the common blood. This is very evident in fights which do not involve homicide.

596 An evenly contested fight in which no blood is spilled is an
577 episode complete in itself; a fight of similar character and pro-
578 portions in which one side physically loses blood but the other
629 does not, inevitably provokes its own sequel in the attempt at
some later time to draw blood from the opponent. But a man does not himself revenge the outrage which has been committed on him. This is the task of a brother or son. Also, the object of vengeance need not be the original opponent; any male member of this man's family is appropriate. In a typical dispute over the boundaries of grazing areas, Aristoteles was cut about the head by the other shepherd's crook. Some weeks later, Christos, the brother of Aristoteles, found himself at a wedding feast opposite the brother of the man who had recently quarrelled with his own brother. In his own words, 'I suddenly saw

him there, drinking and putting on airs. I remembered that 596
his brother Vasili drew blood from my brother. I could not 577
stand it.' The consequences for the other man was a head 598
wound from a broken bottle before the two men were parted 627
and expelled from the wedding. It has to be remembered that fights and brawls in which individuals have the duty of both active and passive solidarity are relatively frequent, but that killings are rare.

The second category of affairs of honour concerns the sexual 596
conduct of women. The family has exclusive rights over the 577
sexual capacities of its women, and in this respect women 831
always remain *in loco filiae*. Here we are concerned not only 684
with external attack as in the spilling of blood, but also, some- 627
times, with treason from within when a daughter or sister betrays her virginity or when a wife voluntarily commits adultery. The will of a woman is vulnerable and her sensuality is evil. She is the weak link in the chain. For this very reason her sexual purity is an appropriate symbol of the family's honour. Its destruction, although itself a dishonourable act, in some way places the destroyer and his family in a position of superiority; for they have demonstrated that the woman is willing to abandon sacred loyalties for the gratification of her sensual feelings by a stranger. In these circumstances vengeance becomes primarily an act of purification. A father (or brother) must first destroy his daughter (or sister) and only afterwards turn his attention to the lover. Similarly, a husband ought first to kill a wife taken in adultery and then the paramour.

If it seems surprising that such violence may occur in a group 596
whose jural and affective solidarity I have been at some pains 577
to stress, this nevertheless seems to be a characteristic of small 627
groups whose solidarity is very intense. In the mutual identification of one member with another, there is no flexibility to contain widely divergent interests. We have seen that brothers, if they cannot reach unanimous decisions, must part company. Similarly, the association of family members demands absolute loyalty; the treachery of one member disrupts the group in such a way that this member's very presence is a denial of the qualities and attitudes on which the harmony of its internal relations depends. The objectionable element must, therefore, be excised. This is the only way in which the family honour can be

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●596 577 reinstated. And the father[4] or brother who accomplishes this
627 terrible work wins a grudging respect in the general community.

Families do not always find at once the moral strength to
596 take the only honourable action. In an affair between two
577 second cousins in 1955 near a village on Mitsikeli, the girl's
627 brothers first tried unsuccessfully to kill her lover. The girl then
684 ran away to the man's home; no doubt as much through fear
of her family as out of devotion to her lover. In another case,
which occurred in 1944, the lover of an unmarried girl escaped
from the neighbourhood after one unsuccessful attempt to shoot
[621] him. Although the girl's association with the man had been
notorious, no action was at first taken against her, but over a period of six months the family suffered acutely from public sneers and scorn until, quite suddenly, the girl disappeared. The nature of her fate was never satisfactorily explained.

The most recent instance of the vengeance of a family on a daughter occurred in 1948 when a Sarakatsanos wintering his sheep near the Gulf of Arta discovered that his daughter was conducting an affair with a villager, who had seduced her with false promises of marriage. At the time, there was no other Sarakatsan family in the immediate neighbourhood, so that there seemed to be some possibility of hushing up the matter; but the girl discovered that she was pregnant, and the man refused to marry her.[5] The father took the girl to a secluded place, shot her with a pistol, and disposed of her body by rowing out into the gulf and sinking it with weights attached. Later, he killed the villager and dealt with his body in the same way. This case is often cited as the right solution to problems of this kind.

In cases where a girl is raped or a wife is similarly violated, or where at least the community accepts this presentation of the matter, the action is one of straightforward vengeance. The natural avenger is the brother for a sister and a husband for a wife. Such an attempt will certainly be made where an avenger is available, and it will be recalled that in the case of unmarried girls one of the brothers does not marry until all the sisters are

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[4] It seems to be the opinion that the father who begot the girl is a more appropriate executioner than the brother.

[581] [5] Marriage is not an honourable solution to a premarital affair unless, as is most unlikely, the liaison is known only to the two families, and not to the community.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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established in marriage, an arrangement which expressly pro- 596
vides them with this avenger. Consequently, in cases where an 577
act of vengeance concerns the sexual honour of a sister or a 627
wife, there is little chance of it not being executed through 684
default of a ready avenger.

A question of honour is also involved when a man breaks the 596
contract of betrothal. The girl's brother ought to kill him. Here 577
the attack on the girl and her family is not a physical assault 627
upon her virginity, but the suggestion that in this or some other 584
respect she is not worthy of marriage. And the knowledge that 686
the breaking of the contract involves an obligation of vengeance only establishes more strongly in the minds of other members of the community the suspicion that there must exist some serious fault in the girl. I know of only two instances of broken betrothals over a period of ten years and significantly both these cases were arrangements between Sarakatsan girls and village men. Marriages between Sarakatsani are only arranged after exhaustive inquiry and considerable debate; mistakes are thus unlikely. In the first of these two cases, the former bridegroom fled to Athens after he had lost the top of a finger in an unsuccessful attempt on his life; in the second case, the father of the unhappy girl had no adult son, and was glad enough to have the additional excuse that the man lived some considerable distance away. He was loud in his threats, but in the event he did nothing; and people were quick to point out that this was exactly the kind of conduct one might have expected from this particular individual.

Between the two categories of 'affairs of honour' which I 596
have described there is one important difference. In the first 577
category, a killing demands a counter killing, and in theory, at 627
least, this process may continue until all the adult male members of the two families have exterminated one another. The first killing which initiates the affair is not itself a random or indiscriminate act. It happens generally as the reply to an insult or as the consequence of a boundary dispute or some other quarrel. A man does not intend to kill in these situations, but accidents happen. The rough balance which in most cases, as we have seen, is struck between the two sides, satisfies neither group. The community remains relatively indifferent to ques- [626]
tions of 'right' and gives its preference to the side which shows the greater manliness.

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● 596 the greater manliness. In the second category, however, where
577 an affair concerns the sexual honour of a woman, the community
627 strongly upholds the 'right', in an ethical sense, of a family to
684 kill a man who has assaulted one of its women. For this act is
626 evil and dishonourable. An avenger in an affair of the second category does not generally go into exile, since his life is to a degree protected by public opinion. Where a balance is struck between the two groups in affairs of family honour, it is inherently less stable in cases of the first category than in those of the second. And this appears in the fact that two families, between whom there is a killing and an exile, are extremely careful to avoid meeting in circumstances where their presence may represent an affront to one another. Mutual avoidance is a means of preventing the disturbance of a precarious equilibrium. It appears, then, that the processes of vengeance provide through exile a sanction against killing, and through vengeance killing a sanction against breaches of the code of sexual behaviour.

596 When a man is killed or a woman is assaulted something, a
577 life or honour, is taken away, not merely from the violated
627 individual, but more importantly from his family. One group has committed a wanton and hostile act upon the other, and between the two groups a debt of honour now exists. Something has been taken, something equivalent must be taken back. Until some kind of a balance is re-established, the victim's family is in the eyes of the community inferior to the group of the violator, even where the act of outrage, as in the case of sexual assault, is in itself evil.

It is a peculiarity of 'affairs of honour' that they consist of at least two events between which some interval of time elapses. The first is the violation of family honour which is generally an outrage on one particular member; the second is the act of vengeance which is similarly performed, in most cases, by one member only. In both instances the individual as victim or avenger represents his family. If the honour of the individual and the honour of the family are analytically separable, in
[554] action they are one. And if the execution of vengeance brings a measure of personal glory to the individual, at the same time it is also an act which is essentially altruistic.

[558] The longer the interval of time between the two events the

less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even 596
where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer 577
is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if 127
an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of 558
years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual 619
this community is divided into the two opposite but complementary 602
categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking relations 609
in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents 578
co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

571 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount
578 of debt remains.

685 The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its
source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are
571 closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each
609 sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft
233 of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material
578 object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937
685 the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of
[554] spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of
persons.'[*] The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

* * *

596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed
that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of cor-
596 porate property and family honour. In the final section of this
609 chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and
578 hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as
some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

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[113] [*] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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5
a substantial co-operating 'company' and has many other kinsmen 6
in the local group of shepherds. It was very probable that 648
if Theodoros returned to his shop to drink, as well as to buy, 571
the boycott would be over. This proved to be the case. Vlachopoulos 5
persuaded the President to rearrange the grazing areas, 662
and after a week or two of further delay to impress upon 6
Theodoros the misguided nature of his opposition in the previous 624
autumn, the President eventually effected the necessary changes.

A Zagori village and the local group of Sarakatsani that is 5
linked to it through rights of citizenship, form a network of 6
friendship relations, some of which are symmetrical and others 648
of the patron-client variety. This network enables a man in 621
many situations to obtain a measure of satisfaction from a 571
person with whom he is in direct opposition. He achieves this 592
by indirect pressure because he is a client, or friend, of the friend of his enemy. Villagers and shepherds are careful to maintain friendship links with opposed political factions and personages whenever this is possible. The implication is that there are often inherent limits on the way in which the President or other influential villagers may use their power against most individuals, since, very probably, in any particular act of victimization they are attacking the friend, or client, of one of their own friends. Only very poor villagers, or Sarakatsani with small flocks who are not attached to the co-operating 'company' of more powerful kinsmen, may be treated unjustly without encountering some responding pressure through the system of friendships; for these persons, having little to offer in return, may not have patrons. But in other cases to ignore the pressures received through the system of friendships may endanger important relationships on which a man's influence and prestige largely depend. It is not suggested, however, that a man with strategically aligned friendships is secure from all injustice. On the contrary, Theodoros suffered a considerable financial loss until his friendship with Vlachopoulos rescued him from further punishment. 5

In the Zagori villages, as in the Sarakatsan community, a 6
dominant feature of the social system is the isolation of the 571
family and its struggle against other families, whether in terms 596
of the possibility of bare subsistence or of social prestige. The 621

S G 571 596 621 more important social obligations are particular to the individual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The notion of service to the community (εὐεργεσία) exists, and is honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services are never anonymous. S G [183] The idea of service to fellow citizens of the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public servants. G [622] A President does not feel under the same moral obligation, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

4. LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

S 648 662 The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

G 647 [156] Some State regulations are administered through the structure of village authority which has been examined. In other instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank, S G 439 57 G 441

The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κωλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [511]

Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556]

The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

S 571 596 609

It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

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the family, and to the reciprocal hostility and distrust that exist between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. In general, there are few circumstances where his own wishes, or public opinion, allow a Sarakatsanos to honour an obligation outside the family at the expense of an obligation within it. Moreover, with the assistance of some kinsmen or affines the economy of each family is generally self-sufficient, and working co-operation between unrelated men is seldom necessary or, indeed, practicable. Families, within the community, compete for social prestige in terms of values which underline the particularist obligations to the family honour. A man's work, affections, and moral obligations are almost exclusively contained within the one small group. The commitment of energy, physical resources, or deep affection to an unrelated person is a kind of betrayal. For these reasons men do not associate, even within the community, on the basis of any universal principle of fair dealing. Nepotism is an obligation not a moral fault; and honour is opposed to the canon of honesty.

S 648 571 829

G- [186] [556]

Inhibitions against self-seeking conduct are yet more tenuous in the relations of men who do not share the common bonds of community. The Sarakatsanos expects to be exploited by the merchant and ignored by the government official. The bureaucrat or merchant not only stands outside the local community, he is divided from the villager or shepherd by his status as a member of the urban middle class. The shepherd is aware of the ill-concealed contempt of the 'civilized man' (ὁ πολιτισμένος) for country people and their ways; he knows of the official's meagre and insufficient salary, and something of his competitive struggle to win prestige symbols (houses, clothes, cars, radios) which validate the nuances of family status within this urban middle class. He does not believe in the existence of any ethic of professional bureaucratic service to the community. 'They are all "eaters"' (φαγάδες), he says in sweeping condemnation. It is thought that few officials will exert themselves over the affairs of a man of lower social status unless he is offered some inducement. And generally it is believed that concessions and facilities are seldom to be won on a broad front for the whole community but only as exceptional dispensations to favoured families. In these circumstances men consider it useless to conduct their business with the State on the grounds of their general rights as citizens.

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885
828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour
577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their
mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the
596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new
freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires
about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention.
She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the
family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated
men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about
the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and
her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of
[606] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind
heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice.
She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they
[844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who
delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the
577 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through
554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons
who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com-
[831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty
years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman
is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul'
[796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the
bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the
prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech-
754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed
[755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere
operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these
skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families
from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputa-
tion for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these
[784] cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A
woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and
[774] remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to
[833] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing
a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her
own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

reputations. Honour and prestige depend, also, on other 577
factors besides the possession, or apparent possession, of
personal qualities. We turn now to a discussion of these other
factors.

5. THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS IN PRESTIGE

The elements of prestige we now discuss differ from those that 554
have just been described in that they emphasize, not the ideal 577
equality of honourable men, but the inevitable inequalities
which differentiate families in terms of numbers and wealth
and certain other criteria. Whereas the concepts of honour and
the honourable man are purely social facts, the elements of
prestige we are about to examine are clearly not; they involve
demographic and ecological factors, and chance.

(A) NUMBERS

Ὄγκος means mass and, by extension, social influence. The 554
Sarakatsani often use the word to refer to the numerical strength 596
of the family, particularly the number of sons or brothers. It is
noticeable that in folk-songs and folk-tales the pallikari is
typically one of five brothers, or more. The ideal type hero
is never an only son. To have many sons is the crowning pride [742]
of a man's life, and conversely, sterility, and to a less degree a
family of girls, is a mark of failure.

That a strong and united group of brothers supports a family's reputation is wholly understandable. They are able effectively to guard its interests by physical force, they are not necessarily dependent on others for co-operation in the management of their flocks and, until the extended family is divided, there is at least one unmarried brother prepared to revenge its honour. Other men think twice before they offend a shepherd with four or five brothers.

At the other extreme, the man without brothers, or the 554
father without sons, is weak. A man without a brother may be 577
killed with less fear of revenge than is generally probable, a 596
girl without a brother runs a greater risk of insult or a broken
marriage contract than do other unmarried women. For in
these circumstances the only person under any formal obligation to retaliate is the father, a man of advancing years who
is isolated in his family without the active support of other men,

554 577 596 and fearful that he may leave his dependants without a protector. But although the predicament of a man in this position is appreciated by other Sarakatsani, it scarcely mitigates the loss of prestige. If a man has no adult son to protect his daughter's virtue, the fault is his. For weakness is despised. In itself it tends to diminish the prestige of a family even before it has [156] led to dishonour. And men who are isolated without brothers or sons are noticeably less proud, less confident, and in some cases are, by Sarakatsan standards, pathetically diffident and nervous—overt personality traits which I have not observed in men born into large sibling groups with a number of brothers.

(B) WEALTH

59 554 556 Τὸ βιό is the property owned by a family, particularly its flocks of sheep and goats, the mules and horses. Although money invested in other objects of prestige such as village houses is important, animals in a pastoral community are the significant form of wealth and a critical element in social reputation.

Today there are few families that own more than five hundred [235] sheep and goats. A household with more than 150 animals holds a respectable position in the community, one with 80 to 120 animals is on the brink of poverty, while a group with less than 40 animals is despicably poor. Yet the question of wealth is not quite so simple as this arithmetical scale might suggest. The Myriounis extended family of five brothers have 476 animals. Only the flocks of two other families in the Neochori local group exceed theirs in size. So long as they remain a single family with this large flock and five adult men to serve and protect it, the family is clearly, in this respect, a group of high prestige among the Neochori shepherds and indeed in the total community. But when the family is forced to divide into a group of autonomous families, each brother will possess only 80–90 sheep and goats; it may, therefore, seem that at a single stroke they will fall from one end of the wealth-prestige scale to the other. In fact, however, so long as the families of a group of brothers hold together in a co-operative association, folding their sheep together in a single flock (although with different ear-signs), they continue to derive some prestige from the aggregate number of their animals. Still it will now be said, for instance, that Theodoros has only 80 sheep and goats of his

828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of
[787] snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relation-
●596 ships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers
[787] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal
[839] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

754 members have an obvious reason to be envious of other people. 232 They may also be persons from respected families who suffer some personal disability or deformity; for instance, a powerful eye is attributed to a prosperous Skamneli villager who has a squint and a club-foot.

754 596 Generally, however, the question whether the evil eye of any person is to be attributed to unconscious witchcraft or intentional sorcery depends upon his relationship to the victim. Since small children are often bewitched, it is not remarkable that in extended families the tensions which exist between the wives of brothers are often reflected in the regular presence of the name of the husband's brother's wife among those suspected by the mother of a sick child. But it is always accepted that such bewitching is of the unconscious kind, as indeed are almost all instances of evil eye between kinsmen and affines. On the other hand, where the bewitcher is an unrelated person the victim is ready to ascribe more conscious motives to the possessor of the eye that has hurt him.

152 754 It is not, of course, strange that the envy of the evil eye is associated with the Devil. Envy is inherent in the material world of limited resources and numerous contrary wills. Lacking what another possesses and thinking of that rather than of his relation to God, a man is easily led by the Devil to destroy what he himself has not. This tendency is so inherent in the nature of the situation that, as we have seen, even kinsmen and affines bewitch one another, although such is the strength of the moral element in these relationships that the effects are not believed to be produced with conscious intention. 152 554 577 And it is interesting to note that of the elements of prestige which were discussed in the previous chapter, those elements, honour and the quality of being honourable, which tend towards the ideal equality of members of the community and the conception of the Sarakatsani as men united in the desire to live in accordance with honour, do not of themselves necessarily lead to envy between men, for they are essentially spiritual values; on the other hand, those elements of prestige which inevitably differentiate men and possess a pronounced material aspect, wealth, numbers, lineage, marriages, dowries, and so on, are precisely the values competition for which must breed envy in those who are not successful.

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1934-5 511

This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were 596 [233]
ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were [162]
14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) [804]
and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound [436]
sterling approx.).

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment [651]	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

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* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock. [474] [162]

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● 596
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Income	*Drachmas*
190 ewes produced for sale on average 23½ okes of milk per head at 4½ Dr. in the winter and spring	20,092
190 ewes produced for sale on average 7½ okes of milk per head at 5 Dr. in the summer	7,125
Sale of 173 okes of wool (60 okes were kept for the use of the family), at 26 Dr.	4,498
Sale of 78 male lambs at an average price of 120 Dr. per beast	9,360
Total	41,075

[421] This was a fairly satisfactory year for the family. But it has to be taken into consideration that they have a debt of 5,000 Dr. to their winter cheese merchant and a loan of 7,000 Dr. from the Agricultural Bank as well as smaller amounts of debt in two shops.

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

594 /124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f. [114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young [591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 612 596 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.

562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representatives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
[593] [861] like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 861 858 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years, that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers, enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
● [596] [494] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tseligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 128 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of fights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

594 593

TABLE No. 3

Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family

Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

/149 cont./

121 593 594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 594 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

– The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 596 182 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the descent group and thus the "social existehce," the extended family allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 613 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form," is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/150 cont./

596 613 The second, constituting a kind of family in "horizontal form" (the second provision of designation) includes juxtaposed lineages descended from a single ancestor who is no longer living or who has become disabled and therefore socially non-existant.

The first /form/ looks like a single pyramid, relatively homogeneous, placed under the authority of the ancestor.

The second is made up of a group of contiguous pyramids each of which has its own head. The following figures, 1 and 2, give a schematic but clear idea of this (table no. 4).[A]

[128] /151/ Having established these points, let us begin our analysis with the study of the economic phenomena which correspond to this new unit.

596 421 THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY.

Within the extended family economic activity is organized according to four principles: 1st co-ownership; 2nd common use resources; 3rd cooperation and 4th group ownership of the income.

The first of these principles expresses, as we see, the system of ownership among the Sarakatsani.

With reference to the variants formulated below, one must distinguish two forms of co-ownership. [613] In the vertical form of the extended family the entire family fortune (livestock, equipment, tools, money, etc.) is in fact the unilateral and personal property of the head, the common ancestor of the lineage. It seems therefore that the vertical form is incompatible with the principle of co-ownership. However, a closer observation of reality will quickly show that this is merely illusory. We already know that the adult sons of the ancestor and, with better right, the married sons and heads of families may demand their

[A]. /See p. 168-A--Analyst/

3: Kabbadias--168A E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/150 cont./

TABLE No. 4

Forms of the Extended Family

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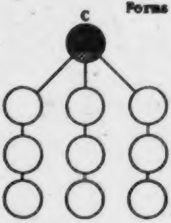
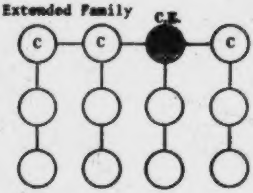


Vertical
(Fig. 1)



Horizontal
(Fig. 2)

C = head
C. E. = elected head

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596 421 share of the fortune from their father and move away.

Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "in rem" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although anticipatory and potential, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 421 428 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him ab intestat /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "morte patris continuator dominium" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 428 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance. The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families. [612] It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have [191] received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

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596 428 [771] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not
[422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 421 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

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596 421 428 the beneficiaries may demand the partition, enter into possession of goods which revert to them, and dispose of these according to their own wishes. This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani.

596 421 The second organizing principle of the economic life of the extended family is that of a shared use of resources, takes a concrete form and manifests itself chiefly in the way the shared wealth is managed. There, too, it is necessary to make a distinction corresponding to the two variants that have been established.

596 While the common ancestor is alive it is he who is ex officio manager. It is therefore he who assigns to each his tasks and his role in acquisition and consumption, according to the general dispositions described in the pertinent paragraphs; it is he who insures the contacts with the outside world, with a view to the advantageous exploitation of the livestock; it is he, finally, who must provide for all the needs of his descendents and the members of their families. (31)

31. For details see the following sections.

596 613 When the family assumes the horizontal form the managing individual is chosen among the heads of the particular pyramids, in other words, among the heads of the lineages issuing from the common ancestor.

[428] One sees here that the principle of primogentiture plays a certain role by reserving the candidacy for manager to the first generation of descendants of the ancestor and excluding the generations that follow.

However, its role ends there. For, the manager who also becomes the over-all head is chosen for his capabilities and aptitudes and not by reason of his age. Now it often happens that he is not the eldest brother.

The choice is made democratically, that is to say, after a consultation of the heads of the lineages.

The responsibilities and the competence of the elected head-manager are the same as those of the common ancestor.

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596 There is, however, a difference, the sociological significance of which is important. While the father in the conjugal family and the ancestor in the extended family are holders of power /154/ that has devolved upon them by reason of their place in the hierarchy of kinship, the elected head is merely an agent. His mandate, implied and included in what everybody expects of him, imposes upon him obligations unknown to the ex officio heads. He thus finds himself subject to the control of his subjects to whom he must render an account of his activity. If his management is slightly or entirely inefficient, he may be dismissed and replaced by another who will better serve the interests of the co-owners . However, here some details are necessary.

The elected head has absolute power in the economic domain. Everyone owes him obedience and everybody must abide by his decisions when they concern the use of the shared wealth. Of course, he may ask the opinion of others. But this is not obligatory, any more that it is obligatory that he follow the opinion expressed. Constituting the chief agent in the economic life of the family, disposing of funds and acting in the name of all, both for production and consumption, the elected manager-chief finally becomes a sort of central bank permanently at the service of the family group. This formula clearly sets forth the prerogatives of the head. And it makes intelligible his obligation to give an account of his activity--an accounting which is always made after the action.

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474 Nevertheless, to speak of "economic exploitation" is at the same time to speak of "work." The principle of cooperation which we have seen in connection with other aspects of Sarakatsani economy is equally valid in the domain of everyday labor. The various tasks that are carried out in connection with economic activity are performed in the name of the group.

This formula means that there is first of all an allocation of work

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596 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each
461 task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within
474 the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the
labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been
produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family
seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which
everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dis-
434 postion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not
474 individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani
economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this
requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been
434 realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results
474 are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family
454 and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the
556 level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the
women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful.
But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on
the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding
will become a Tséligato, or larger, more important unit, which will
attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And
[571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and
compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have reper-
474 cussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful
556 family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/
571 a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be
stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit
of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

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556 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
591 easier and more profitable.

These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
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474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony.
However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially,
to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a
certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type
of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story
which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his
wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it
was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of
the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his
mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[789] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at
rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

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596 474 joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the
689 guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in
434 order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.
[431] However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of the importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsani insist absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. The old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

596 It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the
474 punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is
689 not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect,
431 that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman,
182 and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospitality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of
474 the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one
434 may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 474 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles

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596 of economic organization of the extended family that the latter is a
474 family herding enterprise, that has a sharing and cooperative, as well
as a communal nature. Thus, the question that now arises is to know
121 596 why the Sarakatsani have chosen the family as the group to carry on
474 their economic activity.

At first glance it seems normal and natural that relatives cooperate and join together economically. But once again, the appearance does not completely correspond to reality. By referring anew to two of the constant and fundamental parameters of Sarakatsani life, their geographical and social isolation and their activity as herders, we can get to the heart of the matter.

233 As a matter of fact, in order that traditional herding be
596 profitable, the flocks must be large. Each category of livestock must
474 be cared for separately by several shepherds who will insure its care
[594] and its security. The male work force of any conjugal family is
[464] numerically insufficient to assume this task. Now, inasmuch as nomadism makes recourse to a labor market outside Sarakatsani society is very difficult, the only solution to be found is in cooperation. (33)

33. See below p. 197 ff.: Tséligato."

However, owing to the force of circumstances, this cooperation cannot be limited to a simple association between herders, that is to say, to that which contractual bonds of an economic cooperation ordinarily impose on its participants. The practice of nomadic herding, apart from organized society, demands that the bonds /158/ existing between cooperators be close, deep and humane. For our herders, constantly obliged to defend themselves against difficulties of all kinds: bad weather and animal epidemics, Turks, bandits, livestock thieves, packs of wolves, etc., can rely only on themselves and their own resources. Which means that each must be willing to risk his life to all kinds of dangers and above all to expose himself at any moment and without hesitation, in order to safeguard the life and the livestock of others.

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596 474 602 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Something more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 128 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] [594] [613] [171] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

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34. The model of this type of living-together already existed in Greece in Homeric times: *Iliad* VI, 244: "The Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

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596 264 [562] The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

[233] If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 462 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] [233] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[231] [235] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to the women.

[361] [221] [484] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] [322] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,

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[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

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[439] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

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[233] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer, prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

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463 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds. Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,
--of ewes from that age on up,
--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,
--of sterile ewes,
--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

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Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks, namely:

Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

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In order to complete the picture one would have to include among the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

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However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

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The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

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233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs
of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

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474 554 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
434 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.

[436] [581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
594 554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the
management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safe-
guarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing
he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders
which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain,
the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them
to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody
benefits from his services.

The education of the children is also carried out collectively.
[861] They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of
women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of
Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] [562] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.

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596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization
which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to
further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

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596 Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his
594 descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or
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[584] give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice
of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the
system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the
societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are
ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in
the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal
[584] family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated
[178] seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life,
whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of
"veto" in this domain.

Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very
[584] significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his
children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he
respects.

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596 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the
606 wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended
554 family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their
part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently
married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the
brothers previously married.

596 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended
554 family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this
family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

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596 are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected
554 to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his
[601] sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among
[114] the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort
[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

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601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also, are
561 required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the
554 same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

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596 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior.
562 The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal
family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended
family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and
arranged hierarchically.

[535] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demon-
[796] strates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which
men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in
which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the per-
formers.

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596 The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family.
882 They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult
554 moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge
[627] of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment,
flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the
[535] ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution
of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. More-
over, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the
protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces
favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in
their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they
guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on
554 the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social
heirarchy within this same family framework.

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596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

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596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)

527 37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[754] [789] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the newborn child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 593 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must

/167 cont./

594 593 mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

596 /168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

596 578 When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumerated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

596 [626] However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to it. [128] We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

594 596 In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

594 /168 cont./
596 family, they can, should the case arise, withdraw from the extended family.

596 Though the women have transferred their independence, their initia-
562 tive and the free disposal of themselves to the men, their female responsibilities in common economic activities and in magico-religious manifestations, their role in the succession and in the creation of alliances give them considerable satisfactions.

The same is true of the hierarchy within their group and the resulting transfer /of rights and privileges[illegible] first, all the women to the wife of the head, the wives to their mothers-in-law, the recently married women to their sisters-in-law married before them, /169/ and so on, /transfers/ which are compensated for by their authority over the women and children in their own family, by the hope of one day becoming wives or heads, mothers-in-law or older sisters-in-law, and thus exerting in the future a sort of sovereignty over other women.

Social Functions and Social Control of the Extended Family.

596 The entire analysis of the way of life of the extended family chearly shows that this group is an omni-functional group in the sense that the Sarakatsani expects from it the gratification of all his needs,
596 both material and moral. The Tséligato is a supra-functional group.
474 But its functions imitate those of the extended family in a great many respects. If it is, in certain respects, more efficient than the latter, this is due to the fact that it has at its disposal a larger number of means of action. However, from the functional point of view, the priority over all the Sarakatsani groups belongs indisputably to the
[594] extended family. The proof resides in the established fact that neither the conjugal family nor the Tséligato can dispense with it, whereas it can carry on its life outside the Tséligato.

596 We have not dwelt upon the concrete functions of the extended family,
626 for we have treated them all in connection with its life except one that we have not examined sufficiently: this is the social control (39)

/169 cont./

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[113]
exercised by the family.

39. On the idea of social control: E.A. Ross: A Survey of the Foundations of Order /cited in English/; R.E. Park and E. W. Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology /cited in English/, L.L Bernard: Social Control in its Sociological Aspects /cited in English/; H.M. Johnson: Sociology, etc. See also the systematic and critical exposition by G. Gurvitch: "Le contrôle social " in: Sociologie au XX^e siecle, Vol. I.

There is no doubt that the Sarakatsani are committed to the strict preservation of their way of life, as we shall see later on and in our final chapter. What is important to note here is that their society, in order to protect itself from possible changes, moves along two courses which converge: it defends at any price the integrity of its cultural armature and it obliges its members to conform to the traditional norms and models of behavior, both for individuals and for the group. That this conformity leads to the preservation of the cultural armature which in turn gives meaning to conformity is obvious.

/170/Now in practice it is the extended family that finds itself charged with this mission, first of all through the education of the [867] children. It molds their moral and psychological personalities according to the ideas and values peculiar to it.

Secondly, /it carries out this mission/ by the direct and tight control of the life of all its members. Its way of life, living together, the community, the collectivity, represent means highly efficient in this regard. No one can escape them. This control goes very far. It reaches even areas which, by definition, ought to enjoy a certain independence, indeed a profound spontaneity, as for example, maternal or filial affection, the joy born of a festival, or the sadness of mourning. In all these instances neither an individual nor the group

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596 626 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription. [585] [593] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

596 613 The Character of the Extended Family.

The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'àpres Durkheim, p. 109.

596 171 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/171 cont./

596 which ignores kinship through women.

[171] [594] If we have adopted for it the term "extended family" it is, on the one hand, in order to distinguish it from the conjugal family which is less broad, and, on the other hand, to avoid confusion with the types of families we have just enumerated.

However, this is not all. The Sarakatsani extended family is not a "patriarchal" family properly speaking. It shows some resemblances to families whose patriarchal character is very clear, but it also /shows/ certain very considerable differences. Yet here we must be aware of slight differences and distinguish between the Sarakatsani extended family whose head-manager is the common grandfather and the extended family which is run by an elected head. Let us examine the first instance.

The family managed by the grandfather shows a trait in common with unquestionably patriarchal families, which historical evidence and sociological analysis accept as such in the Mediterranean region; the trait is that of paternal authority and of the principle of management confined to the "patriarch."

596 This point aside, very striking dissimilarities soon loom up.
171 Comparing the Israelite family of biblical times, (42)
113 42. See E. Renan: *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, pp. 15-25.
the pre-Homeric Hellenic family (43)

43. See G. Glotz: *La Cité Grecque*, pp. 708, 45. Also: *Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque*, p. 240. Also: *Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne*, p. 12 f. P. Guiraud: *La proprieté foncière en Grèce*, p. 46 f. Fustel de Coulanges: *La Cité Antique*, III, chapter IX, pp. 104-110.

and Roman family (44)

/171 cont./

596 171 [113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[776] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

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596 554 However, by basing our evidence on the very pronounced authority of the common grandfather, we believe that we may characterize it as "quasi-patriarchal."

Let us now move an examination of the character of the extended family managed by an elected head.

The existence of the latter and the possibility of his dismissal does not suffice to characterize it as democratic, since there is not complete equality among its members.

Moreover, contrary to what happens in the bosom of the undivided family of the great family, the head is not considered the equal of the men of his generation. Once elected, he occupies a higher rank than they. All the more is he not the equal of the men of other generations.

596 554 171 (113) In the Slavonic Zadruga (47) the Staréchina, its head, is assisted by a council whose decisions, above all in serious matters, /173/ are binding, while the Sarakatsani head determines his actions all alone. In the exercise of his managership the Staréchina may not go beyond the limits that the council has fixed for him--a fact which shows that his initiative is relative. The Sarakatsani head does not come up against anything comparable. Finally, in the Zadruga the post of Staréchina can be held by a woman, something that is never seen among the Sarakatsani.

It is the same with the head of the Kabyle family, the t'amen who is an elected head, or rather an agent, in charge of maintaining order and enforcing the decisions of the amin (his council).(48)

596 Having established these characteristics, we propose to describe the

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47. See D. Novakovich: La Zadruga, pp. 33, 102, 122, 124. É. Sicard: La Zadruga, pp. 135-193, 142, 145, 146, 372. Archpriest Douchich: Le Monténegro, p. 59. Articles 507 and 57 of the Code civil Serbe, and 709 of the Code de Monténegro.

48. R. Maunier: Ibid., p. 64 f.

/173 cont./

596 Sarakatsani extended family managed by an elected head as paternal, (49)

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> 49. This term is used in its ordinary meaning as it refers to the attitude of a father toward his family not in the sense proposed by Durkheim, *Ibid*., p. 1, footnote by M. Mauss which coincides with the Germanic family. Nor is it the paternal family described by M. Mauss: *Manuel*, p. 137, in which the wives are strangers to the family and merely produce children.

taking into account the functions and responsibilities of head. It is [829] very significant that the Sarakatsani themselves, in speaking of the functions of the head of the extended family say "that he is a father for all and that he must perform the same tasks as a real father."

* * * *

These last statements set us somewhat apart from ethnographers who, concerned with this problem, have stated in a general, but it seems to us a superficial, manner that the Sarakatsani extended family is a patriarchal family. (50)

> 50. See Mme. Hadjimichali: *Ibid*., A.I. p.

596 171 Strict patriarchy, as we have seen, does not exist there. The status and position of its members, chiefly the women and the children, are based on more progressive ideas--ideas which have been expressed for a long time in Greece.

Even Aristotle, in describing the family of the pre-classical epoch, says that the husband is the natural master of the family community, since "nature has denied the women and the child the aptitude to rule."

Therefore the head of the family knows how to adapt his authority in his own interests and exercise power "constitutionally over the wife and monarchically over the children."

/174 / These Aristotelean statements show very well the humanization, so to speak, of the Hellenic family within the framework of the City---

/174 cont./

596 humanization which was the result not only of the brilliance of the
171 gentilices family units under the influence of the City, but also of the general progress of humanistic ideas, above all after the appearance of the Sophists. (51)

[113] 51. The Roman world too knew a similar evolution after the fall of democracy. The Lex Julia de adulteriis: D. 48, 5, 22-1 and other texts show the change: P. 5, 2, 1, G. 1, 117, 118, C.J. 4, 43, 1, etc. On the later rights of the Roman wife: J. Gage: Matronalia, etc. p. 55. Let us also recall the famous definition of marriage of Modestinus: "conjunctio maris et feminae, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicato."

Moreover, under the influence of Christianity, Byzantine Greece was acquainted with a family in which "the social position of the wife was singularly elevated." According to the preambles drafted by Emperor Leon VI the Wise, to accompany his Novellae regulating marriage, the woman "should remember that she was created from Adam's rib to be only an ally, a help to the man. It is he who is chief member, the head of a unique body formed by the marriage."

It is therefore not necessary, as is generally done, to refer to Germanic, Teutonic families with bilateral kinship, as Tacitus says, (52)

52. Germania.

whose members bear the name of their agnatic lineage as well as that of the maternal (uterine) lineage, in order to explain the condition of the woman in the family and the kindred, as observed in the area occupied by the Hellenes.

It is even very probable--especially if the theory that the Sarakatsani appeared very recently holds true--that the details of their family structure and their system of kinship were influenced by the ancient Hellenic systems of values and those of Byzantium.

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596 If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the
613 Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal
591 and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship,
602 but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live
596 communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/
(421) men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative
474 and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: '*Agroticha*, pp. 35-39.

311 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and
233 rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

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427 Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been
(423) obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties.
427 For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate
571 themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/175 cont./

233 427 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda. 571 (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 177 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 474 426 596 By contrast, the Tsėligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 474 426 233 464 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 177 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 177 554 474 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 474 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tsėligato creates

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ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

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INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.

The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the head of the extended family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato. This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative. [428] Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active, and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns [871] [868] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge and his experience.

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596 However, one must not believe that the system of succession
474 annuls the principle of the revocation of the extended family head,
554 in case he is incompetent. For, even if the successor to the old head is invested by the latter, the head of the individual families dismiss him if he proves incompetent and replace him with someone else who then also becomes the head of the Tséligato.

474 Moreover, as in the extended family, the participants in the
[596 Tséligato are required to obey the orders of the Tséligas, to work and to check on the management.

474 The principles according to which this entire mechanism functions
675 are contained in the agreements reached among the participants--agreements constituting a bilateral covenant, the general conditions of which are:

The Tséligas is obliged:

--to protect the participants and their families;

--to carry out all commercial, administrative and other contacts with surrounding society;

--to rent the necessary pastures;

--to supervise the work within the Tséligato;

--to furnish each one with provisions and the various material objects which are indispensable to him, as well as the equipment for the livestock;

/178/--tc manage the common enterprise of economic utilization of livestock and to keep the accounts.

In return the participants must:

--obey the Tséligas;

--cooperate closely with each other;

--perform the tasks entrusted to them;

--share the expenses of the common enterprise;

--finally, should the occasion arise, defend the Tséligato even at the risk of their lives.

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474 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who
554 have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers,
etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage,
[434] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not
[432] suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside,
sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to
the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude
596 that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is
178 not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close obser-
675 vation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has
been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus
in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution
and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions,
sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs per-
taining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general
frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true
father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family
596 and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit
peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with
what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests
on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements
675 which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six
months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are
renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.

554 The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

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474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

[627] To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 571 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 [621] The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 627 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

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474 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men
571 from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer,
461 if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while
521 gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part
mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes
or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

[887] In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

[533] The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting
132 cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must
233 protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future,
by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in
a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that
the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/
solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework
open to those who are isolated.

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474 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the
● 596 head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families
and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a
contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically
arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated
shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

[675] For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

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474 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the
596 same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families
675 take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

182 As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

[113] It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55) an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619 SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made
[474] up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

55. See G. Gurvitch: *La vocation*, pp. 309-311.

/184 cont./

619 Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One
186 does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter
[474] being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani
474 society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically
596 limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

177 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

/185 cont./

177 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign [171] to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

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Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57) we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 596 594 The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[319] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

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57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

619 /186 cont./
474 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
596 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
594 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth, the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
596 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
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474

/186 cont./
619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
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184 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
596 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
594 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
474 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
[613] core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to
surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances.
[177] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society
and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may
compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play
towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of
the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
474 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities
inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of
the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 594 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
474 an organization.

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[474] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

[177] The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally, constitutes the organization of this society.

[474] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

596 In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
594 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
182 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
177 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
474 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.

[571] This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the
possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the
Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These
facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of
avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression
"closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which
is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions
for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic),
233 ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
● 596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for
solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable
or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family
and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not
afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them
significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to
them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal
accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

436 /192 cont./
437 participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the
479 other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with
56 (469) the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).
(177) Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the
436 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to
474 handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide
funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani
476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the
suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions
and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first
of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for
if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation
would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-
(571) professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition.
(421) Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a
strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani
439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities
462 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men
434 only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption"
the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule.
433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry;
562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the
raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the
tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing.
The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.
462 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a pro-
342 ductive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes
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/205 cont./

671 We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation
[128] of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family
429 council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well
768 as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management
602 of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father, who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter
[474] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same
[596] Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos
of the two parties be neighbors.

/209 cont./

474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tséligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
692 --a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.

(596) Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.

692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

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21. K. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

696 /212 cont./
692 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
627 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
626 Mauss. (27)

> 27. See M. Mauss: *Essai sur le don,* p. 275-276.--
> [171] It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in
> [114] in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders
> to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: *Introduction*, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
578 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an
economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
(474) set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato
these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
(648) For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource
to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

/223 cont./

671 [113] L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.--
P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f.,
etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

● [596] Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

[594] [596] The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended family and according to its authority.

[474] [596] The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

[692] [596] The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

35. Ibid., p. 45.

671 /224 cont./

596 594 474 692 These groups create general rules by establishing custom and by issuing spontaneous and ad hoc rules for cases not provided for, while the arbiters introduce (always as legislators) individualized, spontaneous and ad hoc rules.

Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

671 676 The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally. It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

681 As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

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789 /322 cont./
554 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
182 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
[851] the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[848] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[585] publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[804] bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[844] means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428] head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious,
of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants
recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
596 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/323 cont./
182 families and the Tséligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and
554 affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up
596 into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers,
788 thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

* * * *

789 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears
182 on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

/328 cont./

796 533 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
(532) catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
(474) seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
(596) the members of the Tsèligato come, one after another, to prostrate them-
796 selves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)

178 2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them, /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. E. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : 'Ο Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
pp. 249-255 and the bibliography drawn up by
Ει. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗ — Σ. [illegible] : 'Ο Θρῆνος
τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. [illegible]

[776] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

771 drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the
776 form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated.
191 But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have
178 proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient
religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival
from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality
of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic
796 Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among them-
771 selves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author
has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p. 53

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate
in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does
[793) not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the
administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the
religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an
act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

796 There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from
789 each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the
[596] Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for
474) sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than
(755) religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the
konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the
official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the
women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the
former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

128 The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt
796 here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/321 cont./

771 811 177 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 474 596 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tseligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. 796 788 474 554 The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

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5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

/331 cont./

796 the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the
474 lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women
554 [788] do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.
[252] /332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial
● [596] character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or
the Tséligas.

796 Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals
[776] of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered
protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion
[474] of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the
[554] konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival
[574] [782] of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the
Tséligato.

796 This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos
782 are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of
474 confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by
596 promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity,
776 at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles,
[554] lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which
"is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is
obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course,
the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's
anniversary.

796 In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to
755 read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or
782 a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense,
[252] candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the
door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on
[262] the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/338 cont./
764 775 incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate
[776] of representation which determines magic action.
[825] The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead
775 person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer
the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but
his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in
a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life"
since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall,
● [592] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the
extended family (pp. 174-175).

771 These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity,
775 according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme
Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not
by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in
[764] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and
the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We
[182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and
ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for
775 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani,
764 as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into
religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of
forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the
corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of
jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables
him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be
dealt with later.

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[833] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute
/the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the
forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively
and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to
that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-
Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas,
but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia);
woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia);
resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are
harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life.
The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these
acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of
representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to
disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

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182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

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751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

771

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

(353)
[778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

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261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

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596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/342 cont./

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Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

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/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

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18. Ibid., I 107.

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and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

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Fig. 103

/347 cont./

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182 Next, on the general social level, religion, by its moral prescriptions and above all its teaching of family duties, respect for parents, the prohibition of adultery, etc., offers considerable support to the social structure by abolishing the causes of conflicts and stabilizing behavior.

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182 From another angle, structuring is encouraged by the enrichment of social roles, the statuses of family members, which religious practice brings about. In the majority of cases it is the women, who are charged with carrying out rites and funeral customs. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are the responsibility of men--particularly the head of the family. The result is an increase of prestige for the representatives of each sex, and compensation for the obligations of each, according to the mechanism /described/ in the section of our study /dealing with/ magic and family organization.

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182 The family group assumes new functions derived from religion. It becomes the theater in which religious practices are carried out, and also the agent which carries them out. Perhaps when we focus upon the lamentations of the kolyva in the hut and the preparation and distribution of the psychoudia, it would be permissible to say that the Sarakatsani family preserves some /348/ traces of the ancient domestic worship of the dead. However, these same acts may be explained socially, that is to say, in terms of the solidarity which unites the living among the Sarakatsani and which, by extension, must link together the living and the dead. We are not in a position to solve this question, for lack of data.

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Chapter III

KNOWLEDGE AND MYTHOLOGY

EDUCATION

/354 cont./

829 562 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
596 the heads of families and of the Tseligato, ensures the cohesion of
424 621 the group and its good functioning.

On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
811 reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
562 guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and
symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly
felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to
assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a
new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence
on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social
framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social
life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them
there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend
their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this
direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
177 benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
361 tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea,
presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate
and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For
it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that
212 the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write
[554] [875] and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction
[562] given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend
a few weeks in the konakia.

871 But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in
212 particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the use-
233 fulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning,
596 but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within
474 the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas.
[461] During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm
and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

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CHAPTER IV

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

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The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

531 /368 cont./

532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.

178 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

121 /378 cont./

--Kinship and male preponderance.

--Cooperation and suppression of individualism.

--A communal life (solidarity--community).

--A cosmology and an anthropology based on beliefs concerning the Mother-Goddess.

--Orthodox Christianity interpreted according to previous beliefs.

But here several questions arise: 1st, Do these idea-principles really exist? Or are they a construction of our mind projected subsequently onto Sarakatsani life? 2nd, Do they govern forth above, hence capable of leading us to a solution of our problem?

From all evidence, only a close study of facts is capable /379/ of giving a satisfactory answer. Let us try therefore to put these ideas to the test of contact with reality.

IDEAS AND PHENOMENA. A CONFRONTATION.

We begin with a remark. If we wish to stick to reality and not indulge too much in abstract fragmentation, it is impossible to establish a single and unique correspondance, individualized and absolute, between an element and an idea, for the simple reason that each phenomenon is related to several ideas and that several ideas converge toward identical phenomena.

This polyvalence of phenomena and ideas is a consequence of the total character of socio-cultural phenomena; we shall therefore have to treat several elements and ideas at once--which makes it inconvenient for the economy of this text (one will often have the impression of going around in circles and repeating oneself), but also an advantage: shedding light on the organic ties existing between the parts.

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596 Now, the confrontation of phenomena and ideas leads us to the following conclusions:

Herding, kinship, cooperation and community determine the adoption of the family group, the extended family as a form of group life. They raise

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but
a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and
mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this
group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their
inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of
kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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182 /380 cont./
596 even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal
[562] families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
[474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the
Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
[233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2) and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning
182 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
177 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

/387 cont./

121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

(181) --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society (177) (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 233 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 596 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

/388 cont./

182 its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be
596 a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock.
[233] In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large
[464] scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the
extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and
[233] consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes
herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to
provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is
602 to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter
demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a
simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been
said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity
of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance
fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable,
ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot
be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of
the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is
not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with
the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation,
extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt
[233] in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add
that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we
shall come back to that.

182 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained
562 by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should
predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to
defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily
work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure
the worst weather.

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the
economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

--Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
182 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the
773 Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the
myths supplement it."

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

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182 Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended,
596 patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families,
[474] the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional
[233] and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient
economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding
[829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the
[476] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With
strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/
[771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the
same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though
[181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean
[771] culture area.

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182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it